Memorandum
of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States

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The Government of the German Democratic Republic has followed with interest the proceedings to date of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States. It takes the liberty to set forth its views on a number of questions being discussed at the Conference.

I.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic has, from the very beginning and to the best of its abilities, supported the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and was among the first signatories. It has been guided by the basic consideration that, following the treaties on the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests in three mediums and the ban on the use of outer space for military purposes, this treaty constitutes a further, most essential step towards ending the arms race.

In the view of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, agreement in international law on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons represents a decisive security factor for every Party to the Treaty.

Since, today, as many as about 20 states could be in a position, owing to their industrial development, to produce nuclear weapons, and since the number of these countries is constantly increasing, atomic armament by yet another non-nuclear-weapon state would set off a chain reaction involving higher risks, greater insecurity and the grave danger of a nuclear world war breaking out.

The greater the number of states acceding to the Treaty, the greater the benefit flowing from it for the preservation of world peace.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic is firmly convinced that the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will lead to a considerable improvement in the situation in Europe and is indispensable for guaranteeing security on this continent.

Europe is not only run through by the dividing line between the two most powerful military alliances, whose collision would entail a thermo-nuclear world war: it is also this continent that contains most of the states which, due to their technological and scientific level of development and their financial resources, are the most likely to be in a position to produce nuclear weapons. The use of such weapons in this densely populated continent would have the most devastating consequences for all peoples.

Consequently, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons also corresponds to the real national interests of the peoples in the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic. Therefore, the Government of the German Democratic Republic regards the signing and ratification of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as an exercise of its sovereignty in the interests of the security of its own people and of peace for all peoples.

If attempts to prevent a nuclear war by means of arms limitation and disarmament were to fail, the physical existence of numerous peoples and states would be threatened.

As a state of the German nation, the German Democratic Republic is acting in accordance with its obligations for peace in Europe, which obligations both German states have in terms

of the agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition. This legal duty requires both German states to support the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and any other measure promoting disarmament and security in Europe.

II.

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will contribute directly to the security of the participating states. Furthermore, it contains legally binding aims and intentions aimed at further measures to limit armament and achieve complete disarmament, and to deepen peaceful international cooperation. Therefore, there is an urgent concern to bring the Treaty into force and make it effective as soon as possible.

In this connection the Government of the German Democratic Republic welcomes the programme of arms limitation and disarmament submitted in a memorandum to all states early in July 1968 by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is now up for discussion before the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. The memorandum contains significant proposals such as prohibition of underground nuclear weapon tests, limitation and subsequent reduction of the means of delivery of strategic weapons, a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, and the reduction and elimination of stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The Government of the German Democratic Republic considers that these proposals are the necessary and realistic approach to the targets set out in the non-proliferation treaty regarding further steps towards complete and general disarmament, and thus towards improving the security guarantees for all signatories.

The establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central Europe would be of particular importance for guaranteeing European security. The Government of the German Democratic Republic has always backed all proposals to this effect and has repeatedly proposed that the governments of both German states should conclude agreements on the renunciation of nuclear weapons. It therefore rejects the statement which West German Foreign Minister Brandt made on 3 September 1968, saying that it was true that nuclear-weapon-free zones in Latin America or Africa should be welcomed whereas, in Central Europe, the creation of such a zone would be too "difficult". While supporting the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the various continents, the Government of the German Democratic Republic emphatically reiterates the demand that both German states renounce access to nuclear weapons in any form and that the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic join a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central Europe.

This demand accords fully with the letter and spirit of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Like the overwhelming majority of states, the Government of the German Democratic Republic views the Treaty as a significant step towards checking the arms race, and through its own accession is prepared to promote the binding aims of the Treaty to bring about a further arms limitation and disarmament measures. In the view of the German Democratic Republic the previous activities of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament justify the expectation that it will achieve further success along the lines of the Treaty.

III.

In the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons the security interests of the Parties are closely bound up with the problem of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The

Treaty represents the most far-reaching agreement of a universal nature so far concluded on the joint utilization of latest scientific and technological knowledge. This is of great benefit to all Parties, but is above all useful for those countries which require particularly urgently the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy in order to rapidly overcome their economic backwardness caused by colonialism.

If the Treaty is consistently observed, this will lead to a considerable reduction in the distrust which at present, on account of the military and strategic aspects involved in the utilization of nuclear energy, is still hampering peaceful international cooperation, and will give strong impetus to intensive international division of labour.

The German Democratic Republic has little energy-producing raw materials at its disposal. It therefore attaches maximum importance to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Quite some time ago an atomic power station was brought into operation on its territory. Another one is under construction, and up to 1980 the energy production of nuclear power stations is to multiply.

Like almost all countries, the German Democratic Republic also depends on close cooperation with other states for the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. Without this cooperation it would be unable, despite its highly developed industry and technology, to implement the envisaged programme. It therefore welcomes the provisions contained in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons under which all Parties to the Treaty are entitled and obligated to take part, without discrimination, in comprehensive international cooperation on the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. This applies in particular to the exchange of equipment, raw materials and scientific and technological information.

IV.

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons provides an opportunity for the non-nuclear-weapon states to concentrate their efforts on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and to avoid placing the tremendous burden of nuclear-weapon production upon their peoples.

All examinations on this question, among them the report by UN Secretary-General U Thant of 10 October 1967 (Doc. A/6858), show clearly how vast are the sums which have to be invested to build up such a weapon system. This is especially true with regard to those states which have not yet reached the scientific and technological level of the most advanced states.

UN calculations which presume an average expenditure of 5,600 million dollars for a small nuclear force which would in any case be a negligeable military factor, show that this sum overtops the expenditure on entire annual budgets of a great number of states and entails unbearable burdens on the national economies of most countries. Experience shows that even in some countries with a higher level of economy, the provision of such sums for nuclear-weapon production causes considerable economic and social difficulties. If there is a further increase in these expenditures, it will be less and less possible to solve the common tasks which must be tackled by the states within the next decades. Among these tasks are effective support for developing countries and, above all, the fight against hunger.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic strives to continuously increase the prosperity of the people on the basis of the speedy development of production, science and technology. For this reason it welcomes any international arrangement allowing to employ as many material and intellectual resources as possible for the peaceful development of the national economy and international economic relations.

V.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic attaches great importance to the fact that by now more than seventy states, among them a great number of industrially highly-developed non-nuclear-weapon states, have signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. At the same time it must state that the West German Federal Republic has not yet signed. The reason for this is the continuation of efforts to gain control over nuclear weapons in one form or another.

The Government of the West German Federal Republic has never pronounced a renunciation of access to nuclear weapons. In a 1954 statement it only refrained, as Federal Chancellor Dr. Kiesinger said, from "producing atomic weapons on our own territory". But it has positively not renounced the production of nuclear weapons together with other countries or on the territory of other countries, nor has it renounced the acquisition of atomic weapons or control over them. ("Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", Bonn, 21 February 1967).

In conformity with these statements of the Federal Chancellor, West German Foreign Minister Brandt, in his speech of 3 September, spoke only of the renunciation of "national" control, and in this connection he explicitly referred to the supra-national "alliance" in the framework of which the Federal Republic is striving for access to nuclear weapons.

The West German Federal Republic already began preparations to equip its army with nuclear weapons many years ago. On 25 March 1958 the West German Bundestag demanded in a resolution that "the armed forces of the Federal Republic be equipped with the most modern weapons so that they will be able to cope with the obligations assumed by the Federal Republic within the framework of NATO ..."

In the official "1967 Annual Report of the Federal Government", this is specified as follows: "German participation in the tactical nuclear forces is necessary ... Accomplishing the same mission and operating in the same area, the German armed forces must be equipped with the same weapons as the forces of the allies."

In April of the same year, West German War Minister Schroeder said: "Complete deterrence requires a nuclear component in our armed forces". ("Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", Bonn, 27 April 1967).

West German Finance Minister Strauss declared recently: "The risk would begin with ... a denuclearized Europe, a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe ..."
(Strauss on West German Television I on 8 September 1968).

In his speech of 3 September 1968 West German Foreign Minister Brandt said virtually the same when demanding for the Federal Republic: "As long as nuclear weapons are not abolished universally, they cannot be ruled out as a means of deterrence and collective self-defence".

All these official declarations of the Government of the West German Federal Republic and its demands for nuclear weapons are antithetical to the non-proliferation treaty. They make it clear that West German resistance to the treaty is not caused by concern about the peaceful use of nuclear energy but is due to the non-peaceful striving for military use and for control over nuclear weapons.

With these demands aiming at atomic armament, the Government of the West German Federal Republic is trying to obtain for itself the status of a nuclear big power. The official representative of West Germany in the NATO Council, Ambassador Grewe, has expressed directly that the Federal Republic could not become "a big power without having nuclear weapons of its own".

The objectives resulting from this concept also offer an explanation for the resistance of the West German Government to controls of the observance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). In his speech of 3 September, Foreign Minister Brandt has explicitly rejected controls by the IAEA and called for a special arrangement for the Federal Republic by demanding that controls by EURATOM "must be maintained". Why does the Federal Government wish to evade uniform universal controls by the IAEA and insist on virtual self-controls by EURATOM? The system of controls by EURATOM is grossly insufficient. The Defence Committee of the Western European Union has stated in its report of May 1965 that there is no supervision in West Germany to prevent the diversion of plutonium to military use. For this reason a demand was made in the report "to establish a suitable system of controls".

The opposition of the West German Government to effective international controls is all the more serious since the West German Federal Republic has the scientific and technological, personnel and financial preconditions for the production of nuclear weapons. Already from 1969 the West German nuclear reactors will be in a position to produce as a by-product at least 265 kilos of militarily utilizable plutonium a year. At least ten atom bombs of the so-called Nagasaki type could be made of this basic material. This number would suffice to provoke a nuclear war.

In this connection it is also of importance that the West German Government is striving for a certain autarchy in its nuclear power industry, on the one hand, by opening up its own sources of raw material and, on the other, by deliveries from other countries which do not demand guarantees of peaceful use. This involves above all a further extension of nuclear cooperation with the Republic of South Africa and with Israel.

The particular dangerousness of this striving to gain access to nuclear weapons results from the fact that the West German Federal Republic is the only state in Europe which does not recognize the existing frontiers and the territorial status quo, and expressly demands its change. West German Chancellor Kiesinger said recently:

"What makes the position of the Federal Republic differ from those of other states is that we must overcome what is called the status quo. That is to say that to overcome the status quo is one of our binding tasks. This is not true of other countries".
("Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", Bonn, 18 July 1968).

At present the main threat to peace and security in Europe results from this aggressive claim to change the frontiers and to conquer territories of other states, proclaimed as the official government policy of the West German Federal Republic. The security interests of the peoples require a complete departure from such policies.

VI.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic calls on the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States to effectively contribute by its decisions to establishing a system of collective security in Europe and a lasting order of peace in the world.

The governments of the two German states have a particularly great responsibility for the establishment of such a stable order of peace. Since two disastrous world wars with their terrible consequences for all peoples have been launched from German soil in the first half of this century, it is the duty of the governments of the two German states to see to it that war will never again start from German soil. The Government of the German Demo-

cratic Republic is determined fully to meet these obligations.

On this basis, the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Walter Ulbricht, again submitted proposals on 9 August for: -

- establishment of normal diplomatic relations between all European states, especially establishment of equal relations of all states with the German Democratic Republic;
- admission of the two German states to the United Nations and its agencies;
- signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by the Federal Government;
- conclusion of a treaty on the non-application of force in the relations between the two German states;
- recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe and of the status quo;
- conclusion of a treaty on the normalization of the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic. Any normalization of the relations between the two German states can only take place on the basis of absolutely equal rights, guaranteed by a treaty valid in international law between the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Considering the importance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons for the preservation of peace in the world and for the security of the European peoples, the Government of the German Democratic Republic calls on the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States to do everything possible to induce the Government of the West German Federal Republic to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Berlin, 12 September 1968